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REACTION HOUNDS TROTSKY!

Organize a Fight for the Right of Asylum in the U.S.

The deportation of Trotsky by the reactionary government of France and the campaign of hounding and incitement which puts his life in imminent danger at the hands of Russian White Guards or inspired Fascist assassins, raises sharply before the advanced workers of the United States the question of a fight to secure the right of asylum for him here. At a mass meeting Sunday night, at Irving Plaza, 15th Street and Irving Place, the Communist League will raise this demand and will appeal to the various workers' organizations to join in a united front movement to fight for the right of asylum for Trotsky as well as for other political refugees. Cannon, Swabeck and Garrett will be the speakers at the mass meeting.

In view of the sweep of reaction in Europe which compels thousands of working class militants and opponents of fascism to live in emigration, the question of the right of asylum in the United States becomes an issue of direct concern for every political tendency in the labor movement, and particularly for the fighters against fascism. The case of Trotsky has dramatized the issue and raised it concretely. But

in fighting for his right of asylum here we can be true to the proletarian spirit of comrade Trotsky only if we join with other workers' organizations and parties and fight as resolutely for their partisans as for our own immediate comrades.

While appealing first of all to the class solidarity of the workers, and seeking a common front with the various organizations and political tendencies in the labor movement, the fighting movement for the right of asylum ought to include all advocates of civil liberty and all elements of the population willing to aid the struggle. It goes without saying that the Socialist Party should be invited to take a prominent place in the movement and that all groups and factions in the political movement should be enlisted. Beginning with the political organizations and radical groups the movement, according to the opinion of the Communist League, ought to be driven deeply into the trade union movement, accompanied by a campaign of enlightenment as to the meaning of fascism and the need of a united front against it and a common support of its victims in other countries.

A Picture
of Comrade
LEON
TROTSKY
Taken at His
Desk in Prinkop



How Trotsky Lived and Worked in Exile Before And Was Deported from Country to Country

Leon Trotsky's expulsion from Paris is only the latest of a long series of expulsions and exiles forced upon him for his revolutionary activity since his early youth.

His first exile was to the Siberia of pre-revolutionary Russia. Arrested in 1898, at the age of 19, as one of the leaders of the South Russian Workers Union, Trotsky was exiled after two grim years in Moscow Prison.

Copies of *Iskra* having been smuggled to him in Siberia, Trotsky resolved to take part in this important work. He escaped from Siberia and, at the urging of Lenin, made his way to London to begin his work with Lenin.

London Congress

Writing regularly for *Iskra* and lecturing on the continent for the *Iskra* group, Trotsky became a recognized leader of the Russian revolutionary vanguard at the age of 23. He was chairman of the 1903 Congress in London at which the split between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks took shape. The split, and the awakening events in Russia, decided him to go back; he went to become the President of the St. Petersburg Soviet of 1905 and the most popular leader of the first Revolution.

Reaction brought prison, and again exile to Siberia; but exile had scarcely begun before Trotsky made a daring and dangerous escape across Siberia behind a deer-team, back to St. Petersburg, by steamer to Scandinavia and thence once more into the revolutionary stream of Western Europe. This time his exile lasted ten years—until the February Revolution brought him back to Russia as leader with Lenin of the October Revolution.

Ten Years of Exile

Trotsky had the advantage over most of the Bolshevik leaders of direct participation and leadership of the Revolution of 1905; for him, this was a rehearsal for October and prepared him fully for his historic role. Ten years of exile from 1907 to 1917 not only completed his preparation for October, but prepared him for the leadership of the world revolution. In those ten years, travelling in Europe and America, exiled and expelled many times, he learned at close range the many forms that reformism and centrism can take, and the varieties of capitalist dictatorship which must be overcome.

Exile also gave him positive riches: his acquaintance with Luxemburg and Liebknecht and Mehring, the direct links with the re-

volutionary heritage of Marx and Engels. In Vienna, in 1908, Trotsky began to publish *Pravda*, while throughout his exile he continued to write, under instructions from the Central Committee, for the Russian democratic press. It was as military correspondent for one of these papers that, in September, 1912 he went into the Balkans as the prelude to the World War being played. What he saw with his own eyes led him to predict and prepare for War and Revolution.

War and More Deportations

War again brought exiles and expulsions. Ordered to leave Austria on the outbreak of war, Trotsky went to Switzerland and thence, as military correspondent for the same Russian democratic paper, to France. *Nashe Slovo*, a daily paper published in Paris, was Trotsky's monument to his French sojourn. It kept alive, as many of the Zimmerwald delegates testified, the internationalist anti-war spirit. But Trotsky's participation in Zimmerwald's famous anti-war conference of the revolutionary Socialists, and the growing power of *Nashe Slovo*, led to further exile. On the request of the Czarist government, Trotsky was ordered to leave France; when Switzerland refused him admittance and England refused him the right of passage to Scandinavia, Trotsky was forcibly put across the French border into Spain.

A look at the Museums of Madrid while waiting for the secretary of the Socialist Party to be released from prison—and again arrest and again expulsion, this time to Cadiz, where he was to be put on a boat bound for Havana. As Trotsky has written of the continuous route of expulsions and exiles: "from Berestov by deer via the Urals and St. Petersburg, thence by a circular route to Austria, from Austria through Switzerland to France, from France to Spain, and finally across the entire Iberia peninsula to Cadiz, the general direction being from Northeast to Southwest. There the continent ends and the ocean begins." But it was not to Havana as the police wished, but to New York that Trotsky this time journeyed, fortunately accompanied by his family who, despite similar difficulties, had managed to reach him in time for the westward journey.

New York in 1917

While this is not the story of Trotsky's thought and deeds, but merely the bare itinerary of his enforced exiles, his stay in New York deserves a few words, for most of the legends told about Trot-

sky have their locale in New York. Half the restaurants and tailor shops in New York claim Trotsky as a waiter or presser. Actually, his sole profession in New York was that of a revolutionary socialist. Articles and lectures predicting America's entry into the War—he arrived here January 13, 1917—assiduous studies in New York's libraries of the economic history of the United States, editorial work on *Novy Mir* with Bukharin, Volodarsky and Chudnovsky.

Through the many members of the various national federations of the Socialist party who read Russian, and the English-speaking members of the Russian federation, *Novy Mir* made powerful inroads into the pacifist philistinism of the Socialist party. The German, Russian and Lettish federations were under its intellectual leadership; the Finns were coming over; the powerful Jewish federation "with its fourteen-story palace from which two hundred thousand copies of the *Forward* were daily disgorged—a newspaper with the stale odor of sentimentally phillistine socialism, always ready for the most perfidious betrayals" (Trotsky) was being penetrated—when the Russian revolution intervened. At that moment Trotsky and his comrades were preparing to launch an English-language Marxist weekly to undermine the innocuous *Call*.

1917 Revolution

The preparations for the American weekly were in full swing, when the cables brought the first confused reports of the uprising in Petrograd. Working class New York celebrated the hoisting of the red flag over the Winter Palace with meetings which Trotsky, even after revolutionary Petrograd and Moscow, recalled as "extraordinary for their size and enthusiasm". Revolution in Russia meant the end of exile; Trotsky and his family set forth for the scenes of his revolutionary boyhood.

But between America and Russia lay a British concentration camp at Halifax. Trotsky and other Russian revolutionists were forcibly removed from shipboard and interned at Amherst, Canada, among German prisoners. Here a valuable month—April, 1917—dragged by, the British being egged on by secret instructions from the "democratic" Provisional Russian government. At last Lenin spoke in *Pravda*, the Soviets spoke, and Miliukoff had to bow. Trotsky was released and sailed for Russia—for October, for his great work with Lenin.

Spectre of Communism in The Fourth International

With a fury and venom reminiscent of the mad campaigns against the Bolsheviks in 1917—and identical with them in content—the attack of world reaction is concentrated today against Trotsky.

In France, where the forces of fascism on the one side and the working class on the other are speedily moving toward the decisive struggle that will have fateful consequences for the entire world, the reaction is striking with full force against the leader who personifies revolutionary struggle and victory of the proletariat.

The summary order deporting Trotsky from France, the closing of the doors of other European countries and the rabid incitement against him—in all this there is to be seen not only a reactionary political campaign but also a direct and immediate threat on the life of the organizer of the Russian revolution and the herald of its international extension. World re-

action wants the head of Trotsky! Let the workers take heed and raise the alarm!

French Fascists, Russian White Guards and reactionary forces everywhere cry out against Trotsky and the dread spectre of Communism, rising again on the world arena in the Fourth International. And the Stalinist bureaucracy, which has facilitated the march of fascist reaction throughout Europe, joins in the chorus. This infamous representative and carrier of corruption and treachery in the labor movement reveals its perfidious function once again in the united front of reaction. For the mortal danger to Trotsky's life in the present circumstances, and for whatever may befall him at the hands of a White Guard, a Fascist or a Stalinist assassin, the revolutionary workers, taking stock of all the events which have led to this climax, will not fail to place the responsibility where it belongs.

The Political Meaning of the Attack

The accusations against Trotsky, which have been made the basis of the deportation order, have undoubtedly been manufactured by the extreme reactionaries to serve a momentary political interest. But this manoeuvre is only the superficial expression of powerful motives forces for the reactionary attack. The Fascist movement of France, which advanced with seven-league boots after Hitler's effortless victory in Germany—thanks to the shameful capitulation of Stalinism—has taken alarm at later developments and feels impelled to strike quickly.

The heroic resistance of the Austrian Socialist workers, the great French general strike and united front demonstrations against Fas-

cism, and the emergence of a movement for the Fourth International—these three events, each separately and all together, have contributed mightily to the revival of the will and capacity of the workers to fight against Fascism. They constitute an assurance that the French workers will take the road of the united front and of struggle to the death against French Fascism. The ideas of the International Communists, and of Trotsky in the first place, were expressed and verified in these events. The blows of reaction dealt against the person of Trotsky, and the screams of rage and fear directed against the Fourth International, have, therefore, a logic and a profound significance in the French and international struggle of the classes.

Why They Fear the Fourth International

The fact that the Austrian workers were defeated does not suffice to reassure the French reactionaries, nor is the circumstance that the Fourth International is as yet only in the formative stage, and without a broad organization basis, very consoling to them. They have seen the spirit of the Austrian socialist workers mirrored in the menacing demonstrations of the French proletariat and have taken alarm at them, especially at the unity as well as the militancy which the French workers have displayed. And they remember all too well—when they witness the first appearance of the Fourth International—how revolutionary socialism, that is, communism, reduced to a small spark during the war, was rapidly kindled into a gigantic flame in 1917.

In 1917 the prospect of a combination of the heroic spirit of the Austrian workers with the United front policy which gains ground every day in the French

labor movement, and the fusion of this movement with the revolutionary aims and international organization. This is the spectre that haunts them. This is what they strive to exorcise when they strike at Trotsky and the Fourth International.

"The authorities", who have no reason to fear a bureaucratized and degenerated "communism" that capitulates without a fight, as in Germany, fly into a panic at the bold manifesto of the Fourth International, summoning the workers to the struggle for power. Charging Trotsky with a "plot" to set up a dictatorship in France, "the authorities" quote the demand of the manifesto for the creation of a workers' militia and its clear, sharp warning to the workers: "The two forces have just measured swords. War has begun between them. There is no possible peace but in a fight to the death. In the street, by force, will be decided the future".

No Refuge in Capitalist Countries

The United Press dispatch comments significantly that "there was some indication that the government was anxious to get Trotsky out of France before May Day" and adds:

"Though secret police said they believed that the Fourth International was largely in the formative stage, European governments seemed to fear it, and were reluctant to give the exiled Communist shelter".

None of the capitalist governments offers a refuge to "the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie", as Trotsky is described in the precise and felicitous expression of Stalin (who expelled him from the Soviet Union). Says the United Press:

"Flight to Italy, Germany, Poland, Greece, Yugoslavia, Spain or

Austria is definitely closed because the governments distrust his activities.

"England has not been approached because it was said at the British Embassy that London would refuse. Turkey will not tolerate his return. France will not permit him to go to Morocco, Algeria or any other African colony. . . . Belgium and Switzerland, because of their sympathy with France, are not believed likely to grant him asylum."

Meanwhile, the incitement to drive him out of France in "the shortest possible time", if not to assassinate him, proceeds with unabated fury. "He reeks with the blood of our soldiers", says *La Liberté*. "His residence in any part of France would be a scandal. He

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[The United Front--For and Against Asylum

The fight for the admittance of Trotsky will meet with support and resistance from the very start. This was indicated in the report of the New York Evening Post, April 18th, on the initiative taken by the Communist League and its interviews with prominent people. The *Daily Mirror* of the same date contained a rabid editorial against the admittance of Trotsky.

The united front against the admittance of Trotsky is the same bizarre combination witnessed in the campaign against Trotsky in France and other European countries. The extreme nationalist reactionaries lead the way and the Stalinists follow. General Lee Bullard, retired president of the National Security League, spluttered with indignation when the *Evening Post* reporter asked his opinion about Trotsky coming to the United States. He is quoted as follows:

"May as well invite . . . what's this man who sets fire to your house? . . . well, may as well be inviting a crazy man to come in and set fire to our house. An incendiary, that's the word."

General Bullard was reinforced in his antagonism to Trotsky by Earl Browder, recently appointed leader-in-chief of the American

U. S. Once a Refuge for Exiles

Despite the imposing combination against the admission of Trotsky to the United States we intend to start the fight and to broaden it, with the help of other organizations, into a united front movement for the reestablishment of the right of asylum for political refugees generally. There was a time when this country was a haven for the exiles of Europe who were driven from their native countries by reactionary governments, and was proud of the distinction. This is one of the richest traditions of the country. We ought to appeal to all who take pride in that tradition and invoke it in our fight today.

Sunday night's meeting, where the campaign will be opened, will be a preliminary test of the sentiment of the radical workers of New York on this highly important question, as well as an indication of their sympathy with comrade Trotsky in his great difficulties and dangers. We strongly urge every reader of the *Militant* to attend the meeting and to exert special efforts to bring others.

A rousing demonstration Sunday night will be a notice to reaction-

50,000 MANIFESTOES

The Pioneer Publishers plan to publish for free distribution 50,000 copies of the manifesto of the International Communist League for the Fourth International.

The manifestoes will appear in the form of a four page bulletin with a short statement about the Communist League of America and the *Militant*.

Every member of the organization, every sympathizer and friend of the Fourth International should help us in this effort. Every dollar that you send will enable us to print 500 bulletins for free distribution.

RUSH your contribution without delay. We want at least part of the bulletins to be distributed on May first.

Mass Meeting IN DEFENCE OF LEON TROTSKY IRVING PLAZA 15th St. and Irving Place Sunday April 22 - 8 p.m. Speakers: JAMES P. CANNON ARNE SWABECK